

GIBBS HOPES SMUTS MAY ACT FOR BRITAIN IN ARMS CONFERENCE

General Finely Equipped on Pacific Problem and Europe's Attitude to It.

KNOWS WORLD'S NEEDS

Germany, Disarmed, at Big Advantage Over Nations With Military Burdens.

CRISIS IN UNEMPLOYMENT

Labor's Short-sightedness Serious Menace—England Faces Food Riots in Winter.

By Sir Philip Gibbs.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1921, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. LONDON, Oct. 1.—As outlined in my despatch last week the Washington conference for the limitation of armaments is going to be seriously affected, at least in the opening ceremonies, debates and psychological influence by the grave problems of domestic interest which will claim first attention with European statesmen. The definite announcement that Premier Lloyd George will not appear in Washington this year is due to those facts.

Whether the Irish problem goes ill or well, and I still hold fast to optimism despite melancholy delays and alarms, it will demand his guiding spirit far beyond November. Apart altogether from that is the question of unemployment in Great Britain and its dangerous portents for the coming winter will make it practically impossible for the British Prime Minister to absent himself from Parliament and Downing Street for any length of time. Pressure is still being brought to bear on him to make a quick dash to Washington for the inaugural ceremony to be followed by another visit next year when the vital decisions will be made. It would be an excellent thing, and I know Mr. Lloyd George is most anxious to play a big part at Washington if it is humanly possible, but home duties give him no rest.

Balfour Craves a Rest.

Arthur J. Balfour is old and tired, and after his long exile in Geneva craves his own fireside. The one man who in my judgment ought above all to go to Washington as a representative of the British Empire is Gen. Jan Smuts. There is a movement on foot in certain political circles in England to entrust him with the high mission. It still is remembered that during the imperial conference at London Gen. Smuts made a most noble and wise address to Premier Lloyd George on the problem of the Pacific and the European position in regard to that problem, especially owing to the urgent necessity for arms limitation. In the clearest way he showed how the balance of world fate is shifting away from Europe to the Far East and the Pacific and how the British policy should be such as to make competition for armament in naval power impossible.

"The most fatal mistake of all," he said, "would be a race in armaments with America, which is closest to us in all human ties, so the only path of safety and wisdom for the Empire is one on which she can walk together with America, not in formal alliance, which is impossible and undesirable, but in cordial understanding."

Has Grasp on World's Policy.

To my mind as to many others Gen. Smuts is the greatest intellect, the noblest and most outstanding character in the British Empire today and his grasp of the essential lines of world policy and his big perspective would fit him beyond all others to act as the British counselor at Washington.

I suppose that neither in the United States nor in Canada is it fully realized how closely bound up with the hopes of the Washington conference and how likely to make that conference more difficult is the industrial situation in Europe, and particularly, perhaps, in Great Britain. Undoubtedly this coming winter is not going to be pleasant. Roughly 2,000,000 men are unemployed and already hundreds of thousands of them have exceeded the time limit for unemployment pay so that they are utterly dependent upon relief from local tax rates. But that relief can no longer be granted locally because the rate payers cannot bear any additional burdens, and local guardians have gone to prison in batches rather than levy heavier rates.

It is now admitted by Lloyd George and his Government that unemployment cannot be left entirely to local relief and that it is a national problem which must be dealt with in a national way, though in cooperation with local effort. They are preparing big schemes which may tide over the present crisis, but meanwhile labor is pressing hard for state support of the unemployed on generous and expensive lines and for state credits and contracts which

will provide work and subsidize home industries.

Theoretically that may be excellent. Practically it is very dangerous. What the labor leaders fail to understand is that the financial resources of Great Britain after the war are just as incapable of supporting great armies of workless men or of providing work for them as are the local authorities. Only in the revival of foreign trade, which is Great Britain's main source of wealth, can this problem be solved, and at present, owing to the collapse of foreign markets and exchanges, Great Britain has about half her normal imports and exports.

Foreign Trade Big Factor.

British wealth also was largely due to the carrying force of her great mercantile marine, which carried half the cargoes of the whole world before the war. British food supplies depended on that mercantile marine, for out of every hundred loaves consumed in Britain eighty were made from sea-borne wheat. The coal exports paid largely for the food imports, but now British coal is too dear for many foreign markets, and British ships travel with light cargoes.

Labor in Great Britain does not see as far as those ships travel to foreign ports. It does not yet see that a foreign policy directed to European peace, disarmament and reconstruction as well as greater industry and efficiency at home is the only remedy for unemployment and poverty. Men of high intellectual reputation do not see it either. Archibald Hurd, well known naval expert, says, for instance, that Great Britain will adopt a suicidal policy if she cuts down her programme for big battleships, for defence is of supreme importance to the mercantile marine, as Great Britain could be served to death in a few months if her ships could no longer bring her food supplies.

That is true if we were in danger of destruction at sea. But if we have to compete in battleships with enemies real or mythical it is equally certain that our mercantile marine will rust for lack of cargoes, because we shan't have the money to pay for the food.

The workmen at the Woolwich Arsenal would like great orders for armaments, because this would provide them with work and wages. For the same reason the Clyde shipbuilders are glad to have orders for new battleships costing £40,000,000 and indirectly for new naval bases costing £100,000,000 more. They do not stop to think that £40,000,000 for four battleships lasting four years would build 40,000 houses to last a century. They cannot have both, it is certain.

For Europe generally the problem may be simply stated. It is disarmament or ruin. Take France, for example. In the year before the war her army cost £37,000,000. This year, three years after the victory, it costs £130,000,000. Germany, forcibly disarmed, has an enormous advantage, being relieved of such burdens, though otherwise crippled.

If Workmen Knew the Facts.

If these facts could get into the heads of the laboring men, the success of the Washington conference would be more assured; but they are as a mass uninterested in foreign policy, and are absorbed in their domestic difficulties, which they think in their ignorance to be due to the selfish wickedness of the State.

British communists, who are only a small group of fanatics, are coming out of their lairs to prophesy a winter of revolution in Great Britain. "Starvation and police brutality," they say "will lead to helpless riots. Then the ex-soldiers will remember their training and we shall be flung into a new revolutionary crisis."

Such prophecies have been made too often before to curdle any British blood except that of old ladies in the country. There will be no civil war in England this winter, but increasing distress for the workless men, with senseless spasmodic riots which won't help any one. Undoubtedly next year this will be followed by a wave of emigration to Australia, which is making elaborate plans to receive hundreds of thousands of new settlers.

The enormous difficulty of the Washington conference will be to carry out plans for the limitation of armament at a time when widespread distress in Europe is causing intensification of economic rivalries and many political troubles owing to the desperate temptation for nations to gain financial security or advantage by fair means or foul. On the other hand its immense chance is to prove to the world that many of these troubles and much of this poverty are due to the folly of maintaining military burdens which could be enormously decreased by common consent.

Success or failure at Washington depends on how the scales of fate will be weighted by one or the other of those ideas which are in mortal conflict. What we want is a trumpet voice calling the people of the world to save themselves, a voice of wisdom and nobility and sweetness far reaching in power over the souls of men and women in humble places and in the seats of the mighty. Where can we find such a man?

FOREST FIRES CONTROLLED.

DENVER, Oct. 1.—Forest fires in the Colorado National Forest northeast of Tolland, Col., were reported under control by United States Forestry Service agents today. Messages received from Tolland said an area of approximately 200 acres of timber had been burned over.

CHANCELLOR WIRTH TARGET FOR ATTACK

German Nationalist Party Leader Accuses Him of Unfounded Charges.

SOCIALISTS HOLD OFF

Decline to Take Sides, but Seem Ready to Support Chancellor.

CABINET CRISIS MAY PASS

Delay in Ratifying American Treaty Prevented by Wirth and Rosen.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1921, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau, Berlin, Oct. 1.

The Nationalist party opened a political debate in the Reichstag with a bitter personal attack on Chancellor Wirth. Dr. Hergt, Nationalist leader, accused the Chancellor with making charges concerning the murder of Mathies Erberger and anti-Republican intrigue which he had not proved. "Chancellor Wirth talks friendship," said Dr. Hergt, "but he himself threw a torch among the people."

Chancellor Wirth spoke in his own defense and reviewed a long list of Bavarian Nationalist intrigues. Philipp Scheideemann, leader of the Majority Socialist party, also attacked the Nationalists violently. Chancellor Wirth will continue his defense and will outline his political programme tomorrow. The Socialists showed more inclination to support him than to join a new Coalition Cabinet with the People's Party. It is possible that the Cabinet crisis and the formation of a new Coalition will be postponed. The Socialists machine hesitates to join the Industrial party because the rank and file, meeting the Berlin functionaries, at a meeting yesterday made a violent protest against it.

By the Associated Press.

BERLIN, Oct. 1.—The German press and public evince only an academic interest in the conclusion of peace with the United States as far as Germany is concerned. No comment appeared today, even in the organs of the militant Communists, who alone opposed ratification of the treaty.

It apparently was generally agreed that the Reichstag vote was the mere sealing of an accomplished fact, not calling for further discussion. Inter-party bickerings as a result of yesterday's words duel between Chancellor Wirth and Dr. Hergt of the Nationalist party filled the newspaper columns today.

Pleas by Chancellor Wirth and Foreign Minister Rosen averted a resolution by the German Nationalists yesterday which might have delayed ratification of the peace treaty with the United States in the Reichstag. The Nationalists planned to present a resolution in which the Reichstag would be called upon to declare that in ratifying the treaty it was not making a renewed confession of guilt for causing the war. The two Cabinet Ministers, however, succeeded in impressing the party leaders with the argument that any attempt to obstruct the passage of the bill in the Reichstag would occasion an unfavorable impression in Washington, and possibly embarrass future steps by the German Government.

After the Chancellor's speech in the Reichstag yesterday the Majority Socialist party adopted a resolution declaring there were no grounds for the resignation of the entire Wirth Cabinet, and that the question was only one of reconstruction of the Ministry. Before such reconstruction, however, the resolution says, an agreement must be reached regarding the Government's attitude toward the democratic Republic Constitution and the measures to be taken for defense of the republic. The resolution adds that the party cannot decide regarding reconstruction of the Cabinet until the entire taxation programme has been made known.

URGES CHURCH SERVICES FOR ARMISTICE DAY

Writers to President Suggest More Than Brief Prayer.

Special Despatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., Oct. 1.

President Harding is receiving suggestions for the holding of brief church services throughout the United States on Armistice Day. Edward K. Summerwell, a prominent attorney, has written to the President stating such service would be much more impressive and effective than a two minute prayer in the turmoil of business.

The letter probably will receive the personal attention of the President along with a number of others written in a similar vein.

Armistice Day having been declared a national holiday by the President there would be opportunity for church service in every community.

SHANTUNG PROPOSALS REJECTED BY CHINESE

Note Sent to Japan Refuses Direct Negotiations.

By the Associated Press.

PEKING, Oct. 1.—Proposals for direct negotiations relative to Shantung which were made by Japan recently are rejected in a note passed by the Chinese Cabinet yesterday, according to information in official sources. The note to Japan attempts to refute all the nine points made in the communication from Tokyo. The message will be submitted to the President and, it is expected, will be handed to the Japanese Minister here next Tuesday or Wednesday.

The Foreign Office, simultaneous to handing the note to the Japanese Minister, proposes to send identical notes to all foreign ministers in this city, embodying China's reasons for rejecting the plan of direct negotiations and summarizing the Chinese case relative to Shantung.

PRaises GREAT MIND OF CHARLES E. HUGHES

Italian Paper Hopes Star Chamber Secrecy Will Go.

By the Associated Press.

ROME, Oct. 1.—The *Gazzetta d'Italia* says today that Charles E. Hughes, United States Secretary of State, will be the greatest mind, the most honest personality and the most eminent figure at the coming conference on limitation of armaments and Far Eastern questions in Washington. It expresses the hope that the same "star chamber secrecy" which, it asserts, characterized the proceedings in Versailles will not be observed.

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BRITISH DELEGATES NAMED FOR PARLEY

Bonar Law, Winston Spencer Churchill, Arthur Lee and H. A. L. Fisher.

Special Despatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., Oct. 1.

Great Britain has selected four delegates to the Arms Conference. The four are representatives of the personal policy of Premier Lloyd George, and their names have been communicated, unofficially, to this Government. It is expected the list from Great Britain will be enlarged to include representatives of the dominions.

The four British leaders decided upon are A. Bonar Law, Winston Spencer Churchill, Arthur Lee and H. A. L. Fisher.

Churchill, Sir Arthur Lee and H. A. L. Fisher.

Suggestions that the number of delegates be increased beyond the four suggested by this Government are understood to have come from Great Britain, which has desired to have the dominions represented. While nothing is definitely known here concerning the intentions of the British Government, it is expected the list will be increased by addition of the names of Premier Hughes of Australia, Premier Massey of New Zealand, Premier Meighen of Canada and Gen. Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa.

The possibility of Great Britain having a delegation so much larger than that of the United States may raise some additional discussions among the Powers, although it has been officially stated at the White House that the American delegation will remain as at present constituted.

The situation in Great Britain is such that Premier Lloyd George will not be able to attend. Selection of Bonar Law means that the British Premier has chosen the man closest to him, both politically and personally.

AMERICAN AGENDA ACCEPTED BY JAPAN

Continued from First Page.

Call for the United States on board the steamship Kashima Maru from Yokohama October 5 to take part in the conference. Baron Kanda and Tsumetada Kato, formerly Minister to Belgium, both members of the House of Peers, will accompany Prince Tokugawa as personal advisers.

Prince Tokugawa, who will act as head of the Japanese delegation at the Washington conference, has issued a statement to the press in which he says he realizes the grave responsibility placed upon him, but wishes to assure the people he will do his best in the cause of the Empire.

Newspapers here continue to refer to length to the selection of Prince Tokugawa as head of the delegation, and America's relations with the Shogunate in opening up Japan to Western civilization.

tion. They point out the Prince's ability as a statesman and diplomatist is untried, but declare their belief his peaceful disposition will make itself felt in the armament conference. Undeterred by her 89 years Mrs. Kajiko Yajima, president of the Japanese Women's Betterment Association, which has a membership of 600,000, left Yokohama for the United States today on board the steamship Korea Maru, which took the army and navy delegates to the Washington conference. Mrs. Yajima carries the following message of peace from the women of Japan to the women of the West:

"Japanese womanhood prays for the success of the Washington conference, and the dawn of a new epoch of higher and better understanding between nations."

SPANISH PARLIAMENT TO OPEN.

MADRID, Oct. 1.—Solution of the Moroccan problem, with its international aspects, will be the first thing considered by the Spanish Parliament, it was learned today by *La Epoca*, organ of the Government.

The new budget will next be taken up, and energetic efforts will be made to deal with the deficit in the existing budget, the newspaper said.

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